
IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLSEVIK PARTIZAN



THE EMANCIPATION OF OPPRESSED

WOMAN



March 1993

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Note from the Editor:

Below we reproduce an article written on the occasion of March 8, 1989. In this article we lay down our fundamental approach to the problem of the emancipation of the oppressed, laboring women. Inasmuch as this article today, four years after its publication, of substantial importance, and suitable to make our policy in this question better known internationally, at least in theses.

**Editorial Board of
Bolşevik Partizan**

MARCH 8 – INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S DAY

The 8th of March is the symbol day of struggle for the liberation of women of the international working class. As the oppression of the proletariat is worldwide, so is the exploitation of women worldwide. It is the imperialist system itself, that, in the imperialist core countries, and in the dependent neo-colonial and colonial countries, enslaves particularly working women. It is a world, in which in the Arabic/Islamic states a large number of women have to go veiled and must seclude themselves in all spheres of social life – it is open apartheid. And this is even so in allegedly socialist countries, like Algeria, too!

Legal regulations have often nothing to do with reality. In India the legal age of marriage for girls lies by 18 years, but in practice by 9 years. The cruel sexual mutilation of the clitoris is particularly in Africa the daily life of many women and girls. In Egypt 60% and in the semi-colony of Russian social-imperialism, Ethiopia, 80%–100% of all women are mutilated in this way.

Flogging, stoning, right of the husband to her life and death – these are by the end of the 20th century "women's rights" in several states such as Iran, Saudi Arabia etc.

And in the USA every year two million women are beaten by men; in West Germany every 3 minutes a woman is raped. Worldwide the day-to-day reality in particular of working oppressed women is a day-to-day life of violence, hunger, sexual oppression and misery.

All the sexual, social oppression measures against women are again always connected inseparably with class and race oppression. And women of oppressed classes, races and nations are the most oppressed of all. In South Africa there are for 1000 lively-born children 12 cases of death, by black women in the homelands 300. These are figures of inexorable misery of letting women and their children vegetate away in the slums, in filth and hunger.

This line of oppression is to be drawn even in the highly-developed imperialist states. In the USA 78% of the official "poor", this means under the existence minimum vegetating people, are women and children and over half of them are of black complexion.

This social rank of women continues in the production as well. The inclusion of women into the production is worldwide now as before very low. From 1950 till 1980 the share of women in the production worldwide rose from 31% to 35% only. This can only be explained with the special role of women in the production. Toiling women are one of the largest reserves of imperialism. In each crisis they are the first to be thrown out of production, in order to be hired again in boom phases for a starvation wage. Equal pay for equal work is now as before

a utopia. Let's take again the imperialist USA: In production women get 64% of what a man gets for the same work. Besides, the distribution of wages among women according to their race varies as follows: 66% for a white woman, 60% for a black and 55% for a Hispanic woman.

In countries of neo-colonialism like the Philippines, the entire electronics industry of imperialist states like West-Germany, France etc. produced a pure "women industry", in which women as cheap workers produce for a starvation wage the high-tech industry products under mediæval forms of production.

Women labour in imperialism is labour under male domination, this means male predominance in every sector of the industry and production. In Sweden, for example, 47,2% of all employees in the finance and insurance sectors are women, in Hungary even 48,7%. The percentage of women in management positions, however, is only 1,2% in Sweden and 0,0% in Hungary.

These proportions are also expressed in the fact that worldwide only 5% of all trade union functionaries are women, this means, despite the fact that 1/3 of all women worldwide work in production, they are almost not represented (besides minor functions) in the organisations which should allegedly represent their interests. One of the reasons is that women receive – if any at all – poorer education. Worldwide 2/3 of women are illiterate.

This is the situation of the male supremacist imperialist world. However, where there is oppression, there is resistance! From Eritrea to Nicaragua, from the Philippines as far as to South Africa. Everywhere, where the oppressed revolt against their oppressors, women – the second half of the sky – are also in action. In Palestine they are defending the Palestinian Nation for her right to life, in the Philippines they fight against the cruel exploitation of imperialist monopolies and finance magnates, in Nicaragua they stand armed in the civil war, in South Africa they also stand at the head of the armed resistance against apartheid. In the imperialist countries like France, West Germany, they stand up for their democratic rights, fight for improvement of their living conditions, against violence and special oppression.

The dungeons of imperialism, of feudal and semi-feudal dependent systems are full of resistance fighters, these are the forerunners of the struggle for a general liberation, of which the liberation of women is a part.

Their struggle is our ideal!

All the suffering, the misery, the oppression and exploitation of toiling women will be swept away through the struggle for the proletarian world revolution – shoulder to shoulder with the male fighting comrade. Not reforms but only revolution will bring us the true liberation.

ONE AIM – ONE STRUGGLE

The international tasks of the proletarian women's movement in Turkey/North-Kurdistan

Our key note must be the words of Clara Zetkin:

"Like the revolutionary class-struggle of the proletariat in each single country conglomerates internationally and reaches its highest point in the world revolution, so must the revolutionary struggle of women against capitalism, its highest form of development, imperialism, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the proletarian class-dictatorship and the Soviet order combine internationally, too."

This means for us today:

– Let's learn from the historical experiences of the proletarian women's movement!

Under the leadership of the Communist International (Comintern) toiling women of all countries have gathered numerous experiences in bloody fights side by side with their class-brothers. These experiences lie largely fallow and are not used. All programmatic questions relating to the woman question discussed today by us as well as by the revisionists and feminists have been already dealt with theoretically, politically and practically by the Comintern.

As Marxists-Leninists it is our task to study these experiences, to learn from them, to draw our conclusions for our struggle today and to propagate them.

– Militant and critical solidarity with the struggle of toiling women in the imperialist/social-imperialist countries – against nationalist isolation!

In the imperialist countries today, there exists a broad and strong women's movement. Many opportunists of our country dismiss this strong social movement partly with most reactionary, feudal arguments with deep nationalist colouring, and present it as propagandists of imperialist culture. The women's movement of imperialist and social-imperialist countries is mostly dominated by revisionism, reformism and feminism. But at the same time there are spontaneous revolutionary actions of parts of the revolutionary movement which we must support by all means in order to comply with proletarian internationalism. This does not mean that we Marxist-Leninists from Turkey/North-Kurdistan should not at the same time criticize and ideologically combat such wrong theoretical and ideological concepts of these movements, but we defend deeply their revolutionary and militant contents. We criticize

feminist and revisionist women's movements and oppose the attempts of several revolutionary opportunists of our country which entirely and unreservedly support such movements under the motto "mass-movement is mass-movement", or rather hang themselves on the tail of this movement out of pragmatism. In revisionist/social-imperialist countries the movement of toiling women stands, if beyond the official movement – this means beyond the bureaucratic "women's associations", almost always under the influence of the church and religion and orientates ideologically towards West, towards capitalism. If we leave aside the fact that in former socialist and today's social-imperialist countries democratic rights won by women after the revolution still exist, so are these women very far from true liberation and find themselves under double oppression. This led these women to searching for a solution beyond the "official socialism", and at this point the imperialist West becomes a point of attraction. In this context it is our main task to expose by way of words and actions the revision of Marxism-Leninism by the social-imperialists and point out also the difference between socialism and social-imperialism.

One of our most important ideological tasks here is to show through the social reality in imperialist and social-imperialist countries that although, mainly through the struggle of women, many democratic rights became a reality, the liberation of women is by no means achieved. The opposite is the case. The reality in these countries furnishes proof of the fact that the liberation of women can be achieved only in socialism and communism.

At the same time it is important to defend actual reforms which are an advantage to the oppressed women against reactionary and feudal manners of approach. For example, women can more often use the right to divorce as capitalism drew broad women masses into production and made them thus economically independent. It is the result of feudal understanding if to this usage of right it is declared that this is "imperialist degenerate culture".

– Militant solidarity with the struggle of toiling women in the oppressed, dependent, and semi-colonial countries!

To carry the spirit of proletarian internationalism into the incipient women's movement of Turkey and North-Kurdistan means to propagate that the voice of women masses against repression and torture in Turkish dungeons has also to be directed against torture and oppression in Iranian, Latin American, Afghanistanian dungeons. We have to sharpen the senses that the struggle of Argentinian women of the Plaza de Mayo, the Bolivian mineworker women, the Chilenian mothers, the Tamilian women – that all these struggles against torture and oppression must become our struggle too.

The struggle of women revolutionaries in Iran against the dark middle-age of Islam, the struggle for land of women farm-labourers in the Latin American countries, the struggle of women factory workers in the Philippines against imperialist exploitation, are struggles which are also part of our struggle. We have to learn from these struggles, we have to support them. We have to evaluate critically and apply these different forms of struggle tried and tested by the toiling women of these countries in their struggles to our fight.

— For an international proletarian women's movement!

We are well aware of the present weakness of the international proletarian women's movement worldwide, as well as the weakness of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of which they are a part. But we place right from the start on before us the task of creating a proletarian women's movement on internationalist fundamentals in Turkey and North-Kurdistan. In the creation of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world-movement it will be a practical task to create the programmatic basis of an international women's movement.

Wherever women Marxist-Leninists, women communists and women revolutionaries in whatever country are prepared to carry on an ideological discussion with us on the grounds of Marxism-Leninism over the tasks of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and the proletarian women's movement of today, we are ready to do so.

We will create jointly, together with all Marxist-Leninist forces the nucleus of a new international proletarian women's movement, supporting and uniting world-wide the liberation struggle of toiling women as a part of the world communist movement.



CONFINED TO FEUDAL CHAINS AND ENSLAVED – WOMEN OF TURKEY/NORTH-KURDISTAN

In our country where a dependent capitalism develops, feudalism preserves especially in the superstructure its existence, and the feudal ideology united with religion manifests itself mainly in the oppression of women. The state with all its institutions tries directly to maintain the feudal male-supremacist ideology which condemns women with its prattle of "women's world is her home" to be the slave of the family, of her husband and even her children. According to the feudal understanding which merged in our country with the islamic religion, woman is a house-slave that can be bought and sold, and marriage is an institution which has to provide for the rising generation.

In this institution the man is the chief. The woman is with her entire existence dependent on the man. Allah has created the man as the superior creature and chose him to be the commander and the protector of the woman. And this ideology is completed with the honour and moral understanding which gives the man the right to decide over the life and death of the woman.

According to such an understanding the woman is her life long the slave of one man, but the man has a right to be together with more than one woman. Especially in the rural areas of our country poligamy is still widespread. And there, where there is no poligamy, there exist "life-companions" for the man, created by Allah in all spheres – that is to say, in the sexual sphere as well – so "strong". Such "forbidden" relationships which are often paid for by the woman with her life, are for the man not only relationships which are met with understanding, but in addition, a proof of his manliness.

In our country male dominance is also institutionalised through laws. The present laws, praised by the fascist Turkish State as the realisation of equality between men and women, have legalized the feudal-patriarchal understanding that the man is head of the family, and income of the woman for example is treated as income of the man. A series of the other laws which at the first glance seem to be apparently equal for men and women – such as the divorce law, the law of succession etc. – are laws which are used in practice as a disadvantage for women. In general only women of the rich upper-class can make any use of special laws like eligibility, right to equal education etc.

Of the women, making up a half of the society, only 3,5% are women working for a wage, 81,5% in comparison "housewives". Under the category "housewives" fall also women who work as "family workers" in rural areas. (They make up a large percentage of the population in rural areas.) Women peasants, whose work is mainly manual labour, who

work even without any pay continuously from early morning untill night in the fields and at home, are the most oppressed section of women. Feudal force, influence of religion, without any school education and health service! They live without all that what makes a dignified life, they are born as slaves and die as slaves. This is the "destiny" which the society grants women peasants!

But this is only one side of the coin. On the other side stand proletarian women masses gathered by capitalism in factories and workshops (sometimes home work) as cheap labourers. One of the pillars of feudal-patriarchal ideology, that man is the family's bread-winner, is *de facto* not the case anymore, especially in the lower and middle-class wage-groups in towns. The misery pushes the women masses into the labour market and deals a blow to the notion of "the house being a woman's world". Proletarian women masses who free themselves to a limited extent from the chain of feudal slavery are caught by the wheels of exploitative and oppressive mechanisms of capitalism. The economic crisis and its twin, the unemployment, last like the sword of Damocles over the heads of toiling masses and especially toiling women.

Proletarian women work to a large extent in industrial branches with low pay, and several industrial branches are locked up for them. Unemployment, low pay, very insufficient laws for the protection of the health of mother and child, the problem of nurseries are some of the main economic problems of toiling women.

The fuss of the fascist Turkish state's spokesmen "we are developing", "we are in a situation to measure us with Europe" etc. can't cover up the daily worsening economic situation and the impoverishment of the masses. And like everywhere, it is the toiling women who suffer most under them in Turkey as well. And they are the first when it comes to lay-offs. The worsening of the standard of living forces them to work twice as much to obtain the most basic commodities. They are even forced to accept home-work without insurance, without any security. If this still isn't sufficient to cover the expences, then the door to prostitution, which is the "safety valve of the existing order" (Clara Zetkin), opens for them.

The economic order which forces many women to choose between the alternatives of hunger or prostitution, of which none is better, uniting with the moral understanding: "either you belong all your life to one man, or to every man", brought as a result a huge increase in prostitution. While in 1974 there were 2000 registered prostitutes in Turkey, by 1983 there were 238.000.

On the one side ratification of the UNO resolution against "discrimination", on the other side police and certain censorship laws which are in essence directed against women ... next to it landlords with four women who are "representatives of the people" in the parliament, sym-

pathy for murders committed out of insult to honour, and more and more women forced into prostitution.

Such are the different faces of the order based on holy private property.

It is not possible to handle the situation of women in Turkey in the year 1989 without dwelling on 12th September, which ruled over the toiling masses in all spheres of life over the last nine years, and its influence on toiling women. The open military fascist regime which swapped the country into a church-yard peace, which through fascist terror suppressed the tiniest opposition and drowned the smallest struggle in blood, threw tens of thousands of female and male revolutionaries into prisons, subjected them to torture and killed hundreds. The last nine years in prison are likewise full with the struggle of female and male revolutionaries. But the struggle isn't limited to prisons only. Outside, it was women, too, who marched in the front rows in solidarity actions with the resistance of political prisoners.

But not only the church-yard peace has been torn apart during the last years through the first movement in the rows of workers and students. The first movements are a sign of the coming days of struggle. By the development of the struggle the woman question holds a special part. Since 1984 the woman question became a question which occupies the population. Not satisfied with their role in society, women raised their voices and realized actions with their special question in the centre. And their voice met with response in all walks of life according to the extent of the wounds it unveiled on the question. From the islamists up to the revolutionary quarters was this the impulse for a discussion for new solutions. Inasmuch was this outcry a step forward.

But at the same time this formed the first seeds of a reformist movement, receiving her ideological nourishment mainly from the middle-class ideology, from some feminist currents, and blurring the consciousness of the toiling and proletarian masses. Exactly this very point shows the unpostponable double task of Marxist-Leninists:

The spearhead of this struggle must be directed against the feudal understanding, the main obstacle for the emancipation of women. In our work we are led by the thought that the key link to seize today is the creation of communist women fighters who hold their place in the Bolshevik Party organisation with equal rights and responsibilities, in order to let tomorrow the broadest masses of proletarian and toiling women take organised part in the struggle for the people's democratic revolution opening the way for the true liberation of women in Turkey and North-Kurdistan.

THREEFOLD OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION: WOMEN OF KURDISH, ARABIC, ARMENIAN AND OTHER NATIONALITIES, AND WOMEN OF OCCUPIED CYPRUS

Lenin exposes all double-faced bourgeois who spend many words about "equality" and asks: "Equality of which sex with which sex? of which nation with which nation? of which class with which class?"

The situation of toiling women of the oppressed Kurdish nation, the Arabic, Armenian, Las, Circassian, Georgian and other nationalities is defined by this threefold oppression and exploitation in Turkey/North Kurdistan.

The fascist Turkish state, standing under the tradition of the Ottoman Empire from its establishment to this day, robbed by force the right of the Kurdish nation to set up its own state and the national rights of Arabic, Armenian, Las, Circassian, Georgian and other national minorities and follows a policy of assimilating and exterminating the national minorities through massacre, oppression and ideological attacks.

It is a part of the day-to-day politics to deny the existence of non-Turkish nationalities and to forbid their language, and the practice and development of their culture. Every reaction of the Kurdish nation and the national minorities have been suppressed with full force, massacres, deportations and plundering. The history of the Turkish Republic is full with hundreds of such black examples. One of the simplest examples of attacks in the ideological sphere is that every child living within the boundary of the Turkish Republic, never mind which nationality, has to take every morning the oath: "I am a Turk, I represent the truth, I am hard-working ... My existence shall be sacrificed to the Turkish existence." Through campaigns like "people talk Turkish" it shall be prevented that minorities talk in private life their language. This is the attempt to Turkicize them per force.

And by all this national oppression falls a special share to the woman. During the past decades the fascist Turkish state demonstrated its existence in North Kurdistan mainly through police-stations and gendarmerie. Streets, hospitals, doctors, schools and other social facilities have only been provided in a small amount. In this situation the Kurdish woman of North Kurdistan is in the hands of the darkness of the middle-ages. A school education in her mother tongue is anyway forbidden. School education in Turkish, which is mainly given to enforce the assimilation policy, is by women also very low. The Kurdish woman receives on one side hardly any social services at all and on the other side her life is darkened by the burden of feudal traditions and customs.

She is the slave of the family, the peace present by blood-feud, a child-bearing machine sold for some sheep or gold. The Kurdish woman is mainly oppressed by bride money, polygamy, forced marriage, considerations of reputation, beating by the husband, brother and father.

The first precondition for the Kurdish woman to take her liberation into her own hands is to tear the veil of feudal darkness apart. In this context we have to fulfill a task too. We must fight against those who – in their just struggle against fascist-Kemalist ideology – cling without difference to national traditions and morals and thus glorify the reactionary-feudal parts of these traditions too, without forgetting – not even for a minute – to direct during our whole struggle the spearhead against the Turkish chauvinism.

Although the women of national minorities are in essence in the same way oppressed as the Kurdish women, because they are threefold oppressed too, there do nevertheless exist differences in the dimension and the form of oppression.

Armenian, Arabic, Circassian, Laz, Georgian and other national minorities numerically represent also a minority of the population, and appear today to be of no direct threat to the state-borders of Turkey. Because of this reason they are not so much oppressed by the policy of extermination by force but by the assimilation policy and attacks in ideological spheres. But this wasn't always so and it can change in future. Tyrannisation of minorities has been put on the agenda by every revolt and uprising. This will be the same in the future. The feelings of hatred and the agitation against Armenians living in Turkey newly set ablaze after the bombing-actions of Armenian organisations are an example of that.

Also in times in which direct attacks don't stand on the agenda, national minorities are humiliated on every occasion with the emphasis of their different language/religion/moral and national peculiarity. Despite all attempts to assimilate and efforts to forcefully islamise them, the Armenian women, because of their national peculiarities, are more self-confident and free-mannered. But because of this they are stamped as whores and "easy girls" and are exposed to sexual attacks.

The feudal-patriarchal ideology, looking upon women as the most important holy commodity of a man, performs its duty in the area of national oppression as well. Because of this it means to strike the vital nerve of a group or community when their "holy commodity", i.e. their women and daughters are attacked. Since the defeat of the female sex through the emergence of private property, since the wars between the under paternal-right organized Gens up to the modern wars of the present epoch, the history is full of examples of this. During each war or assault women are raped, kidnapped, married by force, killed. This situation against which we communists fight, is looked upon as normal,

is spurred on and carried out in a planned and systematic manner by the exploiting classes. Also the women of national minorities in Turkey have been in the past as well as today exposed to the direct force of male chauvinism combined with Turkish chauvinism, the humiliation and assaults on our sex.

The "divide and rule" policy of the Turkish ruling classes since decades have led through its ideological attacks to chauvinism striking deep roots among the nations in Turkey/North Kurdistan. The task is to fight, in consciousness of the fact that the Turkish ruling classes are the main enemy, against any nationalism, the Turkish chauvinism being at the head, and to unite toiling women and men of different nationalities under the banner of communism.

Women in occupied Cyprus

The fascist Turkish state documented its chauvinistic and aggressive policy once again with the occupation of Cyprus in 1974 and led to the division of Cyprus, setting up a puppet government dependent on itself.

The policy of the fascist Turkish ruling classes in Cyprus is an attack on political, economic and cultural independence of the Cypriot people. This situation influences the situation of the Cypriot woman too. On the grounds of different historical developments Cypriot women – also the Cypriot women of Turkish nationality – are freer. Especially in this area the Cypriot woman is being deprived of her rights. It is a present-day duty of the communists of Turkey/North Kurdistan to support the Cypriot toilers in their struggle against the Turkish occupying state and to demand the immediate withdrawal of the fascist Turkish army from Cyprus.



ONE AIM – ONE WAY

The socialist Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin is our example

As we must learn from the experiences of all countries and revolutions, e.g. the Albanian, Chinese, so it is, however, a special task to defend and propagate the achievements of the liberation of women in the Soviet Union.

The socialist Soviet Union which began to build communism up to the first phase is in this question exemplary for all toiling women. Especially the achievements of the Soviet Union in the liberation of women was and is the focus of attacks from all revisionist, reformist, trotskist and feminist trends.

The socialist Soviet Union realized all democratic rights of women with one blow.

With the October revolution and its following legislation the Soviet Union in 1918–1919 proved all imperialist pretended progressive democratic countries a liar and demonstrated that in the era of imperialism even the most democratic of all democratic bourgeois republics doesn't effect the democratic rights of women. With a series of laws the socialist Soviet Union established the true equal status of women with men in all spheres of public life. Moreover, the motherhood, an obstacle in capitalism and all exploiting societies in front of the development of women in the society, has been recognized and sanctioned as a special important social function. The protection of motherhood and the protection of children have been initiated extensively. Equal pay for equal work became the basic economic law.

But the socialist Soviet Union didn't stop there:

Lenin said for it:

*"But the Soviet order represents the last final struggle for the **abolition of classes**, for social and economical equality. A democracy, even a democracy for the people oppressed by capitalism, under them also the oppressed sex, **isn't enough for us**. The proletarian women's movement doesn't make its main task the struggle for a formal equality, but for the economic and social equal status of women. To carry the woman into the social productive work, to wrest her from »house-slavery«, to rescue her from the dull and humiliating subordination under the constant and sole environment of kitchen and nursery – that is the main task." (Lenin, On International Women's Day, March 1920, our own translation from German)*

The essentials by the liberation of woman was and is the establishment of socialist foundations in the economy and politics, is the sweep-

ing away of main props of the oppression of women, the private ownership over the means of production and the small production.

In all spheres the socialist Soviet Union started on the true liberation of women. The problems, the tasks have been put forward clearly: The aim was, as Lenin stated, every female cook must be able to govern the state.

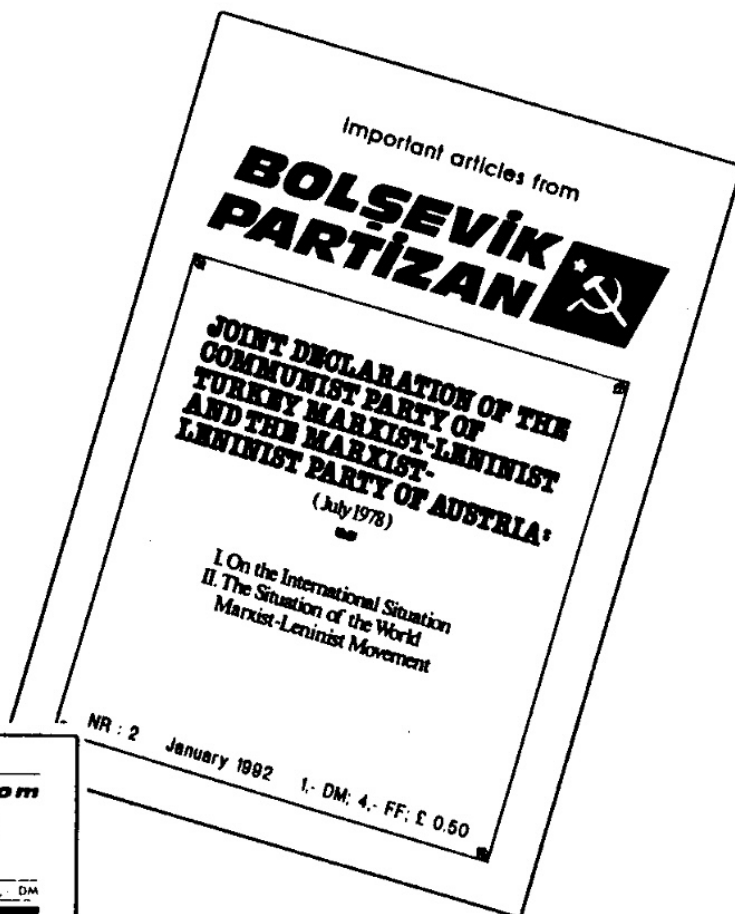
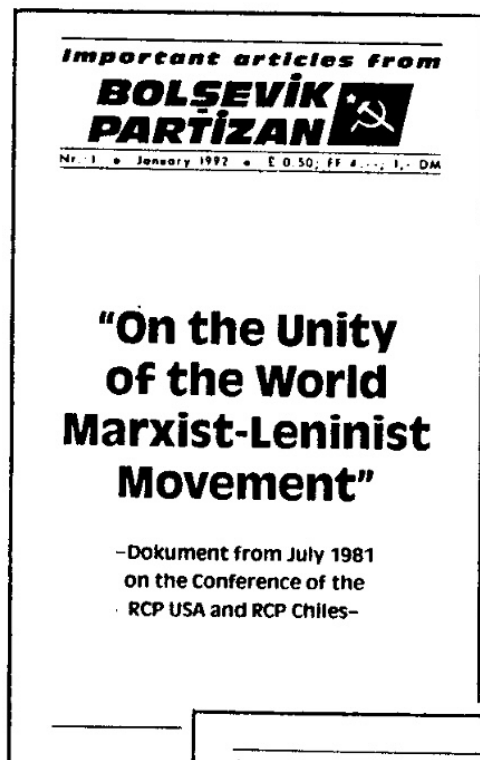
Women were broadly drawn into production. In the first instance into those particular occupations which were carried out by women in the past. The reason was, that their qualifications were enormously low and women could use their capabilities in house-keeping and for child-education as qualifications in these socially necessary fields of occupation. But right from the beginning men and women communists of the Soviet Union made it their task to introduce women into all fields of industry (except the unhealthy ones) and made them participate equally like men.

Alphabetization campaigns took place, directed in particular towards women. From the beginning the task was to draw women into leading committees in the state machinery. Again and again it was pointed to the fact that they are far underrepresented and that their share must be increased. Day-nurseries/hostels and social canteens were set up to socialize the home-work. It is common to all critics of the Soviet Union to insinuate that complete equal status of women in all areas should have been achieved right in the aftermath of the revolution, but at the latest by 1925. They use statistics which state that e.g. by 1925 in percentage still very few women were represented in leading committees to prove that the liberation of women in the Soviet Union also didn't make a qualitative leap. This whole way of approach is entirely wrong. Because it was the state organs themselves which drew up these statistics and formulated the tasks and measures to continue the process of the liberation of women and set it more and more into practice. It was self-evident that the oppression of the female sex lasting over thousands of years and the low social status of women couldn't be eliminated in one or two years, moreover in an economically so low-lying country like Russia in 1919.

In particular the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet organs have done everything they can to let women take part in political power and grant them their appropriate place. They set up the delegates system of women workers and peasants, whereby in rotation the delegated women workers/peasants could take part in the management and administration of the state organs. At the same time an extensive ideological struggle was waged against the feudal-bourgeois front and all those feudal-bourgeois ideologies which classify women as a "lesser and lower creature" were combated vigorously.

Particularly was the husband-despotism combated, whilst the only possible way for women to their independence and self-supporting living was shown and created – the participation of women in social production.

For us is the socialist Soviet Union and her experiences in the liberation of women our vast example and guiding principle. Her experiences have to be reexamined, published and applied to the struggle for the democratic revolution in Turkey which will only be the prelude for the final struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, bringing the final liberation.



OUR MAIN TASKS TODAY

The way for the liberation of women in Turkey and North-Kurdistan can only be opened by the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The proletarian and toiling women of Turkey/North Kurdistan can obtain their true liberation and will obtain it without fail only through the proletarian-socialist revolution which will put an end to the foundations of double and threefold oppression and exploitation of women and to the private ownership over the means of production when an uncompromising struggle is waged under the dictatorship of the proletariat directed at the aim of establishing communism throughout the whole world.

This is a long way, full of obstacles. This way is for those who see the "concrete solution of urgent daily matters" as everything an illusive dream. But this is the only way to true liberation.

For the true liberation of the proletarian, toiling, oppressed women and altogether for the oppressed female sex is the first goal of today, standing before the male and female proletariat and toiling people of Turkey/North-Kurdistan, to prepare the ground for the proletarian revolution through the anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

The democratic anti-imperialist revolution which will put an end to the dependence on imperialism and eliminate all feudal and semi-feudal relations at its roots, is going to gain by fighting in the women question as the minimum the complete equality of women before the law and inscribe on its banner the struggle for the equal status of women. The enslavement of women by the feudal/semi-feudal chains will be put an end to through the democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. One of the most important areas of struggle of the anti-imperialist democratic people's power will be to wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against the feudal and semi-feudal ideas in the heads of the people and to fight uncompromisingly in all spheres against those ideas reflected into practice. Just as the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants arises out of a system of lackeyship to imperialism, fascism, feudal and semi-feudal enslavement of women, so is its future the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liberation of women. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship is nothing else but a battle-field, an intermediate stage of the permanent revolution on the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian socialist revolution is going to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat and will attack in a universal and planned manner the private ownership over the means of production, which is the main foundation of women's enslavement. In this struggle the education of children and the house-keeping will be step by step extensively socialized and the chains of

slavery of women consequently smashed.

Already today we direct our whole attention towards the final aim, the true liberation of the female sex. And we define our tasks of today proceeding from the viewpoint of reaching this final aim. This final aim, the aim of "the liberation of women as a whole", is actually a final aim in a "partial question" and only if this "partial" question is inserted properly at its appropriate place into the whole, is it possible to march exactly towards this aim of this component. The whole is not the liberation of women who make up the half of society, but the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed from exploitation and oppression. The liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed nations in all countries means the liberation of the "entire human race" by the proletariat. Either the women will reach their true liberation as heroic fighters of the proletarian world revolution or instead live on as slaves – but as slaves whose slavery has changed a little bit and under which the slaves are seemingly rescued. **"There is no single liberation, either all of us or none."**

The path towards the true liberation of women leads over the united organized revolutionary struggle of the male and female proletariat, the toiling men and women.

To organize this struggle and to be victorious in it requires an ideological, political, organisational vanguard organisation, a communist party. Concretely, the TKP/ML (B) in Turkey/NorthKurdistan has genuinely developed the tasks on this question on a Marxist-Leninist foundation and understood this as a question which has to be solved. The TKP/ML(B) is still a Party whose contacts to the spontaneous working-class movement is weak and which stands at the beginning of the party building. In the party building phase of today, to win the vanguard for the cause of communism stands at the centre of the work as the main task.

In the woman question the main task today is to develop the women vanguard, to develop communist Marxist-Leninist women and to make them active women vanguard fighters of the Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik Party for the cause of communism. In opposition to revisionist-opportunist organisations speaking in the name of Marxism-Leninism, we are of the opinion that the main task in the woman question today is not the winning of "broad women masses" but to win the most progressive part of the female proletariat. Main task doesn't mean, however, as the opportunists always try bluntly to insinuate, sole task. To say that winning the most progressive part of the female proletariat is the main task of today doesn't at all mean that no work will be done among the women masses, that we won't try to win those masses as well. No, this only defines that link out of the chain of tasks on which we should concentrate ourselves.

Concretely, this means for us:

To activate, to educate the female comrades in and around the organization who are not only numerically but also ideologically very far behind, and to win them as equally entitled and equally committed women fighters. This means, that we today establish around the Party women study groups which not only discuss and study women's questions, but also political questions, and which should particularly enable women to overcome their special difficulties such as not being active enough, not being persistent enough, always placing themselves far back behind the male comrades. Many women in the women's groups take part in the struggle of the Party directly within the area where they are working.

We are carrying our line as well as we can into the existing mass organizations like Dem-Kad (Democratic Women's Association), Tayad (Solidarity Association with relatives of political prisoners) and Trades Unions, conducting an ideological struggle against the errors and trying to organize those women sympathizing with communism.

In all political and ideological questions of the class struggle in the world and in Turkey/North Kurdistan we expose and fight against the oppression of women as a part of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

We are endeavouring to grasp our tasks, to understand our Marxist-Leninist line, to defend it in struggle against modern revisionism and every shade of opportunism, to apply and to develop it. In our own ranks and in the ranks of organisations, which call themselves Marxist-Leninists but are opportunists, we combat male chauvinism as the main ideological danger.

The resolution "Use of force against women and children is incompatible with the membership in the Party" passed by the last organizational conference of the TKP/ML(B) and the discussions afterwards show the dimension and depth of male chauvinism; in this question, too, the resolution is an example for the vanguard role and the determination of Bolsheviks. While we direct our main attack against male chauvinism, we also fight against bourgeois feminism developing particularly in petty-bourgeois/bourgeois circles, and against unity without principles of opportunist groups which crop up in the name of Marxism-Leninism and which have the tendency to hang on to this movement and laud it to the skies. These unities are unities without principles, of male chauvinism with bourgeois feminism.

We fight not only against the wrong ideology which prevails by women who adopt all the prejudices of the male world and undervalue their own strengths, who are always satisfied with the tiniest bit, who cling to their little happiness – their families. We want unyielding women fighters who stand proud and with raised heads in the face of the

enemy, for whom the highest good is the class struggle for the liberation of all mankind, and of the female sex, too, who intervene and lead as female communists active and leading in all struggles of the proletariat, who especially learn to awaken their class sisters and draw them into this struggle. We are "one half of the sky", as Mao Zedung stated, we want to be the one half of the sky here on earth, within the Communist Party, within the class struggle of the international proletariat. And if we want that and if we lay all our strength into this task, then this will be in the not too distant future the reality of our struggle.

There is not even one day to hesitate, each lost day is a profit to the enemy, each won day is a profit for the oppressed.

We have nothing to lose but our chains! We have a great world to win!

Forward to smash the chains! Forward to rake the fire of the revolution!

Forward to strike back the wind of oppression!

Come, let's strike the iron while it's hot!

Join the Bolshevik ranks to fight!

